

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

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THREE PENCE

ПРИВЕТ НАШИМ РУССКИМ ЧИТАТЕЛЯМ

PEACE NEWS, выходящий в Англии, читается во всех частях света. Мы надеемся, что число наших читателей будет неперестанно увеличиваться и вместе с тем будет расти и углубляться идея, которой Peace News служит, ибо мир может быть осуществлен только тогда, когда просвещенное человечество отбросит те суеверия, которые разделяют его на государства народностей и объединится в одно общее братство.

Мы глубоко верим, что война уйдет в область преданий и идея нового объединенного человечества будет господствовать над миром.

Сотрудники Peace News и их единомышленники шлют вам свой братский привет и надеются что наш журнал найдет в вас отклик.

MONTY, OR LITTLE BY LITTLE

IS the appointment of Field-Marshal Montgomery as permanent military chairman of the Five Power Alliance (sometimes known as "Western Union") altogether wise? He must occasionally be an embarrassment to his less simple-minded colleagues. Not since Mussolini was silenced, have the aims and ideals of militarism been quite so naively expressed

COMMENTARY

by

BRUCE ODSPUR

as they were by Montgomery at his Press-conference last week, launching the new recruiting-drive.

Like Mussolini, Montgomery has a "philosophy" of militarism. Whether that is quite the right word for something not thought, but felt, may be disputed; but of its all-embracing character there cannot be any doubt. "I feel," he said, "that the philosophy is that the boy or man in this country, having started in the Army cadets, graduates to National Service, then to the Territorial Army, then to Civil Defence, and ultimately to the Home Guard."

He sketched the life-history of the Typical Recruit, from the happy day when he enters the Army Cadets at 14, until "finally he dies, and is buried in Lincoln Cemetery." Why Lincoln should be singled out for this peculiar honour is not fully explained (perhaps because it is a pacifist stronghold?), nor are we told whether the War Office is to issue khaki swaddling-clothes and shrouds; but at any rate it is clear that the Typical Recruit is a lucky one. He comes to rest in Lincoln—not Flanders or Arnhem.

The World, the Flesh...

AND meanwhile he will have "seen the world":

"When he becomes 18 he is called up for National Service, and he does his National Service partly in this country and, within limits, overseas. He cannot go far overseas at present. He can go to Germany, Austria, Trieste, Malta, Gibraltar, and probably later on to North Africa, and we are exploring whether we can send him as far as Cyprus. It depends on the shipping."

"It depends on the shipping."

(Continued on page eight.)

War AND Tyranny or Peace AND Democracy

THIS IS YOUR CHOICE

FROM Parliament, pulpit and press, we are told that the West must choose between preparation for war and submission to Communist dictatorship. **This is not true.** The choice to-day is between war and Communism, on the one hand; peace and democracy on the other.

War is the parent of Communism. It was war that carried the Communists to power in Russia in 1917, and in Eastern Europe in 1945. Communism thrives upon chaos and shortage; it thrives upon the unlimited hatred and violence engineered everywhere in war-time.

You cannot defeat tyranny by war; you only enthrone it more securely. That is why pacifists call on the people of Europe and America to renounce war once and for all, and to uphold their freedom by methods which dignify, instead of degrading, those who use them.

NO EASY WAY

Pacifists do not claim that theirs is an easy way. In every country in the world their own members have suffered imprisonment, in some countries torture and execution, rather than surrender to the demands of militarists and dictators.

They do claim that theirs is the *only* way, to stem the vast tide of hatred and destruction which is sweeping the world towards death.

UNCONQUERABLE

A people who refused to acquiesce in the mass-murder of millions of their fellow men, women and children would have nothing to fear from tyranny. Capable of resisting the immoral demands of their own Government, they would be capable of resisting those of any other. No invader on earth could prevail against such a people.

A pacifist nation would be disarmed; it would not be undefended. There are other means of overcoming evil than bayonets, atom-bombs and germs: the means employed by Christians in the days of the Roman Empire; by Gandhi and his followers in India; by the pacifists of Norway, Denmark and Holland during the Nazi Occupation.

For pacifism does not mean "peace at any price," a passive submission to

slavery; nor does it mean "appeasement," the abandonment of others to a fate we would shirk ourselves. Pacifism stands for the first principle of democracy: the right of every man and woman to speak and act according to his conscience; the incessant endeavour to express this principle more fully in the economic, social and political ordering of society.

The pacifist is failing in his duty if he does not strive every day so to transform his own life and the structure of the society to which he belongs that they no longer depend on the impoverishment of other peoples, by colonial exploitation or competitive export drives, but instead afford to every man the greatest possible opportunity for satisfaction in his work and the exercise of individual responsibility.

THE RISKS

If you are willing to risk destruction rather than surrender to tyranny; if you are willing to die for democracy rather than sell your children into slavery, then you have nothing to fear from adopting the pacifist alternative. You may actually have less to fear. If war breaks out between Russia and America, nothing is likely to remain of all our crowded cities but radio-active ruins; an unarmed Britain and America might never tempt an aggressor.

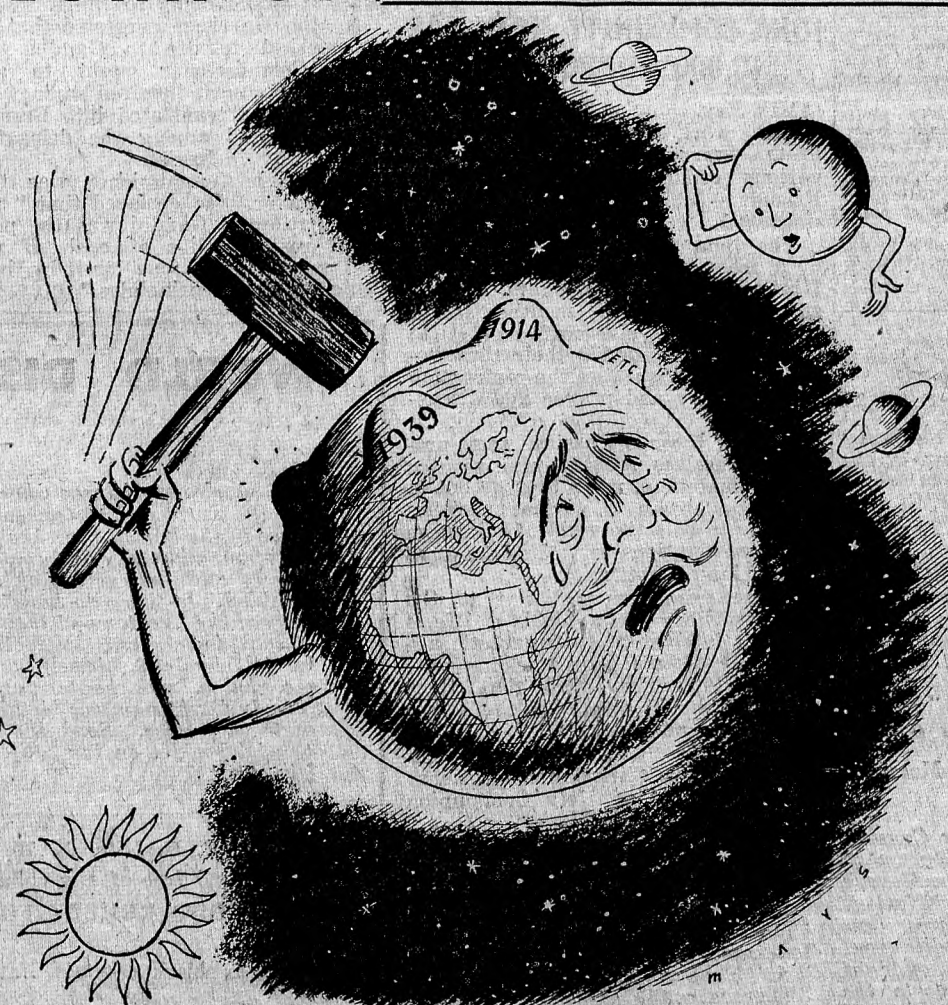
This is the real choice of the West. But it is also the choice of every single man and woman in the West—your choice. If you sign the Pledge to "renounce war and never support or sanction another," you become one link in a worldwide fellowship, the War Resisters' International: and that fellowship is just as necessary if war comes as if war is averted.

IF WAR COMES

If war comes and the West is victorious, only a body of men and women resolute to keep alive the spirit of human brotherhood can prevent a peace being imposed which will make nonsense of all the ideals for which the war was said to be fought: such a peace as twice already this century has sown the seeds of further wars, revolutions and tyrannies.

If war comes and the East is victorious, only a body of men and women with that same resolution will be able to give the lead to a resistance capable of eventually re-establishing our ideals, and converting a world-dictatorship into a world-community.

LUNA-CY



"Well it's so nice when I stop!"

Cartoon by Mays

POINTERS

OUR standards in human relations, as nations and as individuals, are slipping lower and lower. The spirit of democracy is not as strong or powerful as it must become if free democracy is to survive. It is the willingness of the peoples through their governments to follow out the concepts of their spiritual common sense that will determine the success or failure of our efforts.—Sir Stafford Cripps speaking in Washington (Reuter).

We urge the ordinary men and women, the fathers, mothers, grandparents, sweethearts, in all the Churches to look frankly and unshrinkingly at the facts regarding venereal disease and allied matters associated with Army life in general and an occupation force in particular.—The Friend, October 1, 1948.

Dr. J. W. C. Wand, the Bishop of London, said at Wolverhampton yesterday that this country was losing its nerve as a result of tiredness because of the struggles of the war years. The Church today was dealing with agnostics of the second generation—people whose parents had no religion.—Reynolds News, Oct. 3, 1948.

In response to the hundred US ministers who asked for a day of mourning among the churches in protest against the introduction of peacetime military conscription in America, fifteen other US ministers, who designate themselves fundamentalists, requested that the House Committee on Un-American Activities investigate these hundred preachers for "undermining our national security."

A complicated but carefully thought-out organisation for the purchase and delivery of aircraft for the Jewish Air Force exists. Operated by two former world war pilots—Jewish and Christian—the organisation has its headquarters in Paris.—News Chronicle, Oct. 5, 1948.

Instructions have been given by the newly formed Civil Defence Joint Planning Committee to all Civil Defence regions in Britain to cease demolishing air-raid surface shelters and structures and to bring the sirens into working order again.—Sunday Dispatch, October 3, 1948.

The Swiss Federal Political Department has ordered that no official confirmation or denial shall be given to reports circulating in Switzerland yesterday that heavy explosions from Russia which could have been atom bombs, were recorded by the Meteorological Office in Zurich.—Daily Herald, Oct. 5, 1948.

The Nobel Peace Committee have proposed Count Bernadotte for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Commenting on Daily Express criticism of Montgomery's appointment as Western Union C-in-C., the New York Daily News writes "Lord Beaverbrook says that an 'American general of the calibre of Eisenhower' should have the job."

"To which the correct American reply would be, we would say—'Now, now, your Lordship, don't be in such a hurry. We aren't officially in on this Western Europe set-up yet. Better give our internationalists, Europe-lovers, world savers, and so on a little time to condition American to the notion of going into a third European war, which on past performances, these bazos will be able to do, but not overnight.—Daily Express, Oct. 5, 1948.

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, October 8, 1938

During the crisis, among the many telegrams which were received at the office (of the PPU) was one which read "How do pacifists act if war occurs?" The sender had paid sixpence for a reply!

I suppose he was right in thinking that the PPU ought to have a cut and dried policy to meet the situation. Whether he was justified or not I leave you to judge from the terms of the reply (which exceeded the allowance by one penny!): "Honour pledge, resist conscription, demand conference."

—Stuart Morris.

When the Irish Anti-War Crusade tried to dispatch their telegram to Mr. de Valera, who was in Geneva as president of the League of Nations Assembly, they found all wires were held up. While in this predicament, however, they received an offer of Government assistance (reports the War Resisters' International), and the telegram was dispatched on the private wire of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

HOME NEWS

Old and young will meet during C.O. week

THIS year CO Week will be from Oct. 16 to 23. The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors has so far been notified of the following meetings which have been organised within that period.

Oct. 16

LEEDS: Friends Meeting House, 3.30 p.m. Business Meeting followed by tea and entertainment. 7.0 p.m. Open Meeting. Speaker: Fenner Brockway. Chairman: Counc. W. Maldwyn Jones.

WALTHAMSTOW: Friends Hall, Greenleaf Road, Social evening. Speaker: Dennis Hayes. Chairman: Ald. E. C. Redhead, J.P.

Oct. 20

EDMONTON: Church Parlour, Independent Church, Knights Lane, Fore Street, at 8 p.m. Speaker: Albert E. Tomlinson.

SHEFFIELD: Speaker: Fenner Brockway.

Oct. 22

FOREST GATE: Barclay Hall, Green Street, E.7. Speaker: John P. Fletcher.

Other meetings will be held during the week in Central London, Kingston-on-Thames. Speaker: Albert E. Tomlinson, and Nottingham.

Each meeting will give an opportunity for COs of World Wars I and II to meet the young COs of today who are now facing Tribunals and Magistrates' Courts as a result of existing arrangements for conscription under the National Service Acts.

POST-WAR TO PRE-WAR

During recent years, writes Albert Tomlinson, CBCO Secretary, the Central Board has had to adjust its outlook several times to keep pace with changing conditions. After the end of the war it was felt that its services might not be required for very much longer; then it was recognised that an advisory service would have to be kept in existence to help the young COs coming forward under the "peace-time" arrangements; now it would appear that what had been regarded as a "post-war" situation has changed into something approaching a "pre-war" situation. The Board's organisation has survived these changes of emphasis virtually intact and is just as capable now as at any time in its ten years existence, of giving expert and ready advice on any CO problem. The Central Board is probably one of the most effective pieces of

IONA COMMUNITY NOW HAS 10,000 SUPPORTERS

THE Rev. Douglas Trotter described the work of the Iona Community in the first of a series of talks on various communities given at the Friends International Centre on October 1.

The Iona Community was started by a group of Tyne-side Presbyterian Ministers during the slump. Each summer for three months thirty ministers and twelve craftsmen go to Iona. They all divide their time between manual work on the restoration of the Abbey and prayer and discussion.

During these discussions they prepare themselves for the nine months on the mainland, when they go out in twos and threes to various parishes and try to help the resident ministers and congregations to realise the aims of the Iona Community.

These ministers realise that the orthodox Christian analysis of life is of little interest to the apathetic agnostic of a very poor working class community. They feel that their message should speak to the whole man—body and soul.

They base the idea of their community on two Christian conceptions: The Sacrament of Holy Communion and the Incarnation.

The bread and wine of the Communion Service compose the spiritual food of man, but bread and wine are also the physical food of man.

Likewise with the Incarnation. God came and lived with us in our flesh. Thus making the flesh holy.

There are 150 associate ministers, 300 women helpers and 10,000 Friends who largely support the venture financially.

P.O.F.

machinery which the CO movement ever devised for a specialised job of work. The movement cannot afford, for either general or personal reasons, to let this piece of machinery rust at this critical time. Money will, of course, help in some measure to keep the organisation running smoothly, but what matters more is that all over the country men and women will be prepared to give of their time to the advisory work of the Board and the consequent fellowship with kindred spirits.

CO Fellowship Week and the meetings arranged in connection with it give an opportunity to take stock of the movement's position. Should the international situation deteriorate still further the Board hopes to be able to face any challenge undismayed while, paradoxically enough, hoping even more strongly that the day may soon come when conscription will be ended and the Board's services no longer required.

LOW'S CARTOON CONDEMNED AT GANDHI MEETING

HORACE ALEXANDER, recently returned from India, spoke on Hyderabad at a Gandhi Birthday meeting, organised by the India League, on October 2, in Friends House, London.

He said that as Gandhi had so often dealt with controversial topics at his prayer meetings he felt comment was justified. He strictured Low on a cartoon in which the Mahatma was depicted behind an armoured car advancing on Hyderabad saying "not that way my son." "Does Low," he asked, "know more of the mind of Gandhi than his closest friend Nehru?" He gave it as his opinion that had Gandhi been alive he would have approved the action. "Gandhi said it was better to be a soldier than a coward. And to those who say India should have been patient, I say she has been very patient."

He described the thanksgiving service in Delhi when 20,000 Hindus and Muslims gave thanks together for the victory in Hyderabad and the peace it would bring to India.

Agatha Harrison suggested that as a practical tribute to Gandhi the High Commissioner ought to get some of the most inspired sayings of the Mahatma translated into French and circulated among the delegates then sitting in Paris.

The High Commissioner was the last speaker. He declared that "the assassination of Gandhi was the personal responsibility of each of us, that we can only atone for it by lives dedicated to his principles."

QUESTION BOX

"STOP air attacks at source—Tedder's policy," was a recent headline in the News-Chronicle above a statement of Marshal of the RAF Lord Tedder that "the most effective defence against air attack was to stop it at its source."

Did he realise that members of the Peace Pledge Union in Britain, and of the War Resisters' International in other countries, are trying to do just that by calling on their fellow citizens to "renounce war and refuse to support or sanction another?"

Did Mr. Shinwell a few days later assume that the Air Marshal's words needed endorsing and send this call out to members of the PPU in the following passage from his speech at Fulham: "I beseech everyone of you, whatever your political opinions, to work with might and main to promote amity and concord among the peoples of the world?"

Welsh Nationalists oppose Military Service

THE following resolutions were passed at the Annual Conference of the Welsh Nationalist Party, Plaid Cymru, recently.

Military Conscription: That in view of the national opposition to Military Conscription revealed by the vote of the Welsh Members of Parliament in the House of Commons, this Conference strongly protests against the imposition of the Conscription Act upon the people of Wales by the London Government, and calls for the immediate deletion of this Act, so far as Wales is concerned. Meanwhile we promise moral and practical support to all who refuse military service under the Act on national grounds.

The Land of Wales: That this Conference again declares its unwavering opposition to the seizure of an inch of Welsh land by the War Office for the purpose of military training or for any other purpose inconsistent with the traditions of the Welsh nation.

A.P.F. Increase Membership

The Anglican Pacifist Fellowship has obtained 88 new members during the year 1947-8. Membership now numbers 2,233, including 353 clergy and 9 deaconesses; they adhere to the following declaration:

"We, Communicant members of the Church of England, or of a Church in full Communion with it, believing that our membership of the Christian Church involves the complete repudiation of modern war, pledge ourselves to renounce war and all preparation to wage war, and to work for the construction of Christian peace in the world."

Aylesbury PPU Group Organise UNAC Appeal

Stuart Morris spoke on "Conditions in Germany Today" at an Aylesbury meeting within a short time of his return to England from that country.

The meeting was arranged by the Aylesbury PPU group to raise funds for the UNAC appeal, and held in the Assembly Room of the Bull Hotel (by kind permission of Mr. Smith). The chair was taken by the Mayor of Aylesbury.

WORLD DISTRESS

—THE REMEDY

AS stories of violence come almost every day from all parts of the world and statesmen seem quite unable to bring assured peace to the human race, the lot of the nations becomes ever more unhappy, and many are wondering how long it will be before the terrors and destruction of atomic warfare are launched upon mankind. Is there no hope? For many years men have largely ignored the Creator and their present evil plight is a direct result of such godlessness. In fact the existing distress was specifically foretold by Jesus himself in his discourse on the Mount of Olives recorded in Luke chapter twenty-one. The Bible tells of the Divine remedy for human woe in the personal return of Jesus to rule the earth in justice. Send the coupon below for a free copy of a helpful booklet on the subject, "God's Remedy for a World in Distress."

To Mr. F. E. Mitchell, 70, Greyhound Lane, London, S.W.16. Please send free of any obligation a copy of the booklet

GOD'S REMEDY FOR A WORLD IN DISTRESS.

Name in block capitals

Address

WILFRED WELLOCK on the "BREAD AND PEACE" REPORT

October 8, 1948, PEACE NEWS—3

TOWARDS the end of last year Aldous Huxley sent to the War Resisters' International a document which called attention to the world food situation and gave statistics to show that a serious food shortage might become the major cause of international friction and war during the next 50 years.

The case presented by this document, together with changes in the balance of the world's economy and consequently in its trading relations due largely to the war, to which some of us over here had for some time been calling attention, indicated that the struggle for markets which had been the chief cause of war during the last half-century, might in the next half-century be superseded by a fierce and devastating struggle for food.

Obviously, therefore, this was an issue with which pacifists should be concerned. Accordingly the WRI decided that the matter ought to be carefully inquired into, and asked the Pacifist Research Bureau if it would undertake this inquiry and produce a Report.

The PRB readily consented, for it had already come to the conclusion that pacifism was neither a political opiate, nor a religious stimulant to be administered to a sick society, but a principle of healthy living which concerned the whole of life, personal, social and international.

UNANIMOUS

After much consultation and expression of views, the PRB decided to invite a number of experts on various relative issues to meet them in a week-end Conference to be held at Hayward's Heath at the end of January, 1948. It was a very mixed Conference, and not all were pacifists. But it produced a unanimous Report, by consent and without voting.

This Report is a striking example

"An example of Integral Pacifism"

of organic or integral pacifism, as distinct from the pacifism which seeks to achieve peace by means of a restricted pietism, or by an intricate system of international machinery and controls.

The difference between these two forms of pacifism is profoundly important. In the peace movement of to-day there is taking place a transition from the latter types to the former. This change is highly significant, and vitally necessary if the pacifist movement is to influence the course of history in the period of exceptional crisis which lies ahead.

Truth, which should be the guide and inspiration of every revolutionary movement, has a fateful tendency to be sacrificed to shibboleths and slogans, also to demands for the short cuts. When that happens the cure becomes contaminated with the virus it seeks to destroy, with heart-breaking results.

CAUSE OF MODERN WARS

The pacifist movement has begun to realise that the injustices out of which most modern wars spring have their origin in values which make demands upon the world's resources that are incompatible with peace, and thus that pacifism is a way of life in a much more complete and integral sense than has hitherto been recognised. The pursuit of peace is in fact the pursuit of the conditions in which persons and communities may develop to their fullest capacity. These conditions embrace the conception that the quality of man's life is determined far more by creative and vocational functions than by material possessions, and that by according to

A brief account of the discussion on this report at the WRI Conference at Shrewsbury appeared in Peace News on Aug. 13 last. Wilfred Wellock now deals at greater length with an issue which is being discussed all over the world.

spiritual values their due and rightful place, the problem of the distribution of wealth is greatly simplified.

It is often said that peace is one and indivisible, and it is true, but life, too, is one, and peace will only be sure when it becomes an attribute of the daily life of communities, as natural and as inevitable as breathing.

Accordingly the "Bread of Peace" Report opens with these significant words:

"It will be generally agreed by all who are concerned with human life and welfare that the positive obligation to feed the hungry is at least as important as the negative commandment which forbids us to kill. Both obligations are assumed in a respect for human personality.

"While the spectacular destruction caused by war naturally receives most attention from pacifists, the less dramatised, but no less deadly, effects of a world food shortage have therefore an equal claim on our consciences."

Among the facts which its authors considered were these: The estimated population of the world in 1899 was 1,600,000,000, to-day, 2,200,000,000, and in 1999, 3,200,000,000. During the last 70 or 80 years, as a result of the breathless advance of industrialism, soil erosion has played incalculable havoc with most of the world's most fertile soils. The widespread social awakening and the revolution in the world's economic order which have resulted from the recent war, have led to demands for higher living standards, including more food, and caused many food growing countries to sacrifice their agriculture in the interest of industrial expansion.

VITAL PEACE FACTORS

A careful study of these and other facts led the Conference to the conclusion that such issues as soil fertility, maximum use of the world's soil, and national and world efforts to secure the adoption of sound agricultural methods and policies were intimately related to the issue of peace, both directly and by reason of their spiritual repercussions. They should, therefore, be the concern of all pacifists. Hence the Report affirms that a sound food policy

"may have deeply beneficial consequences, spiritually and psychologically, and contribute largely to a peaceful way of life that is not merely the absence of war."

Uniquely, the Report then comes down to the issue of personal responsibility:

"But we are anxious above all that the result of this enquiry shall not be merely the prescription of theories for others, which we regard as one of the causes of our failure. When we say that society should do this or that, it is important to realise that we are part of the society for which we prescribe. We should therefore concern ourselves above all with the habits and practices of daily life, and try to see in what ways individuals and small groups can begin now. The necessarily generalised terms of this report now must be interpreted and applied by its readers to their own immediate circumstances."

IN GARDEN AND ALLOTMENT

Emphasis is therefore laid on the importance of cultivating gardens and allotments, particularly in urban areas. These means

"will not only considerably augment the food supply available from other sources, but will provide that food in fresher condition and therefore with a high nutritive value and also provide physical and psychological compensation for the unhealthy and uncreative work of most urban workers."

The world food shortage may also demand major changes in the diet of mankind universally, as it did to some extent in the recent war. On this issue Roy Walker produced some telling statistics which he elaborated at the WRI Conference. I will give some extracts from his quotations, the first from a paper, *Rival Claims of Animals and Man for Food in 1944*, by Dr. Norman C. Wright, recently appointed Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Food:

"It is not often realised how important a part the livestock industry plays in the country's total agricultural production. The number of livestock almost equals the total of the human population, roughly 40 millions against 46 millions, while in addition there are some 80 million poultry. On a weight basis the livestock exceeds the human population... by about 5 million tons to 2 million tons."

In regard to the acreages required



to feed these two "populations" he says:

"Summarising the total figures it is apparent that, while only three million acres were devoted to human food crops, over 27 million were allocated to the maintenance of the country's livestock."

To reveal the full significance of these figures I now submit a second group of extracts which give the conclusions reached by John Lindberg in the League of Nations 1946 Report, *Food Famine and Relief*. He says:

"The decrease in world crops necessitated a liquidation of livestock and a more vegetarian human diet. The crop situation in 1945/46, instead of justifying a general increase in livestock, clearly indicated a continued liquidation as the only means of averting famine."

Lindberg supplies the reason for this as follows:

"Owing to incomplete assimilation of feed... etc. . . a part only of the feed given to animals is returned in the form of animal foods fit for human consumption. . . . Some four or five feed calories may be used to produce one calorie in the form of milk, whilst 18 or more may be required to produce one calorie in the form of beef or eggs. . . . In Europe before the war, about seven feed calories on an average were needed to produce one calorie of animal food."

Thus here also arises a vital issue in the problem of world peace which calls for personal as well as governmental consideration and decision.

WRONG METHODS

One more point I would raise. The "Bread and Peace" Report deeply regrets, and calls for action upon the modern tendency to apply the methods of the Industrial Revolution to agriculture, including a high degree of specialisation and the establishment of the factory farm. Already this policy is changing for the worse the attitude of the agricultural worker to his work, causing him to substitute a monetary for a vocational interest in his job, and thus throw his mind outwards to the fleeting, spirit dissipating excitements of the mass mind. Thus the Report declares:

"It is clear to us that a new approach is needed to the whole problem of production, involving the replacement of the present accepted incentives by the motives of creative activity and provision for the common need . . . it is essential for us to recognise that the present world economic crisis is symptomatic of a far deeper spiritual crisis, probably the greatest that civilisation has ever faced, and that only in so far as they are related to and are an expression of profound spiritual changes are the practical policies here suggested likely to be ultimately effective."

"The evils of over-urbanization on health, culture and human personality are widely recognised. Decentralisation is clearly needed and in planning it the settlement of sufficient land workers must be a primary consideration. So far as the industrialised countries are concerned this is reinforced by the decline in the relative economic importance of such areas in a world in which industrialism is becoming more widely spread."

In certain important respects, therefore, this Report is a landmark in the history of Western pacifism. The WRI is to ask all affiliated national bodies to give it careful study and to report back their conclusions.

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Atomic Failure

IT must be hard for those who have to sit through Mr. Vyshinsky's vituperative harangues to preserve a sense of proportion, or even to tease out such threads of logic as may be entangled in their mesh. But there is no reason why we who sit in newspaper offices should react with the same impatience. There is some excuse for Mr. Bevin's statement last week that only Russian perversity had prevented the institution of atomic control; there is none whatever for the Times's approval.

The majority of the United Nations, Mr. Bevin reminded his hearers, "agreed that effective control over atomic energy can be exercised if the international control agency to be set up is given powers which will include some form of international ownership, management and inspection." This scheme had failed because "the minority in these matters resolutely refuses to accommodate itself, even in the slightest degree, to the wishes and desires of the majority."

That is true enough, so far as it goes. But what reason had the minority for refusing to accommodate itself? Mr. Bevin would have us believe, none. In actual fact it is plain as a pikestaff that so long as the ownership, management and inspection of atomic plant remained vested in a predominantly non-Communist body, there would be no guarantee whatever of Soviet Russia receiving a fair deal. The Soviet economy, so far as it depended on atomic energy, would be subject to capitalist control.

Even now, the Baruch Plan might be accepted by Russia on one condition, that the international agency be placed in the hands of a predominantly Communist body. What reason is there for withholding that offer, if it is not an equally good reason for Russia's rejection of the existing Plan?

It may be said that the democracies have a particular reason for distrusting a Soviet-dominated agency. It is a first principle of Marx-Leninism that lies and deception of every kind are legitimate weapons in the struggle for Communist supremacy. The Russians, it may be said, have no such reason for distrusting the democracies.

But haven't they? It is sometimes forgotten that Stalin is better acquainted with British and American statesmen than the British and Americans are. He hobbled with them from 1941-5. During those years, did he never have any occasion to doubt the enthusiasm for the rights of small nations, for the impartial administration of justice, for the sanctity of human life, of those who sold him the Baltic States, collaborated with him on the Nuremberg trials, and topped Dresden with Hiroshima? May it not be possible that he thinks of these principles as weapons of war in the hands of the democracies, just as they are in his own?

That very declaration of Human Rights, which Mr. Bevin commended to the Assembly last week might, if the Baruch Plan had succeeded, have been employed as a weapon against Russia. The flagrant violation of all these rights in Communist countries could have been made a pretext for withholding their atomic energy.

Truthfully explained, the failure of the Baruch Plan is only one further proof that war leads to further war. From 1941-5, the Western Powers sank to the moral level of their Communist Ally. In repudiating every principle they professed, they repudiated their only title to Soviet confidence. They showed that they themselves were quite ready to adopt any means to realise their end. Thereby they confirmed all that Communists had believed concerning them. If that belief now thwarts them at every step, they have only themselves to blame.

Neither the Baruch Plan nor any other Peace Plan will succeed until the Western Powers have given proof unequivocal of a very deep change of heart; until they have demonstrated beyond cavil or question that they are no longer prepared to adopt any means, however vile, if only it promises success.

CALL FROM A FARMER'S WIFE

BACK TO THE LAND —NOT THE FORCES

"We are sunk unless more men join the Territorial Army."

—Field-Marshal Montgomery, Daily Mail, Aug. 7, 1948.

"God help Britain unless the R.A.F. get more volunteers."

—Air-Marshal Tedder, Sunday Graphic, Aug. 8, 1948.

I WAS glad when I read of the reluctance of the young men of today to join the armed forces, and hope it means they've had enough, and not just that they are apathetic.

As one of the generation who has grown up between two wars it has always amazed me that men who came through the horrors of World War I should allow their sons and daughters to engage in World War II, and that mothers who would be horrified to think their sons had turned out murderers are yet ashamed of their sons if they turn out pacifists! The old idea dies hard, that it was noble to fight for one's country and a privilege to die for the King. Why should war alone inspire altruism, courage, comradeship, self-sacrifice and other social virtues? Does not Humanity need them in times of Peace for the furtherance of Peace?

Herbert Read tells us in an article in the July-Sept. Adelphi, that hatred of war is an emotional attitude and no basis for a positive philosophy. This to my mind is a purely masculine and logical statement, quite true, no doubt, but lacking warmth and conviction. Emotionalism plays a big part in a woman's make-up and through it much has been accomplished, and I would be quite unscrupulous in its use if it were the means of bringing the horror of atomic warfare home to people.

It was purely emotional feeling which made me so sick with disgust that I tore from its pages a picture of Field-Marshal Montgomery with a group of youngsters whose faces had been smeared with black grease and whose clothes had been decorated with brushwood, yet whose immaturity and inexperience shone through the muck like Holy Candles at early Mass. And "Monty," that water-drinking son of a bishop, was telling the Press "We're sunk." Sure, we're sunk—if England has nothing better to teach its lads.

How much better those boys would have been learning to live without motor cars and penny pools and pin tables. A two-years' training on the land, learning to work and live by the labour and sweat of their own bodies in good wholesome country air, getting healthy appetites for bread and cheese, instead of haunting snack bars for fish and chips or "a cupper tea and bun." Learning to handle ploughshares and hay forks instead of tanks and bayonets. Discipline—yes! Comradeship—certainly! But to a constructive end.

Not only do the agonies of separation, loneliness and anxiety once more threaten our home life, but added to those are the terrors of some wretched German widow living in a self made rubble-and-waste-wood hovel of a house, doing a man's job in a sordid remnant of the Ruhr to keep her children alive and her body together. Let him ask her whether her heart doesn't bleed for all those healthy men who are not to be allowed to stay in England after all. Come to that, ask any other wretched woman in Poland, Greece, France, or anywhere else in Europe to plead for them. It might put TRD's thoughts in order and his heart in place.

MICHAEL SORESENSEN.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Deporting PoWs

PACIFISTS should avoid using muddled or misdirected emotional outbursts in highfalutin language and passing them off as appeals to the conscience of the world, or the nation or the Home Office. They fool nobody and help the wrong people. They should also be sure of their facts, sure of their purpose and scrupulous in their methods.

If, as TRD writes, the PPU National Council is planning to take up with the Government the cause of German prisoners who had opted to remain in this country and are to be repatriated, they would be well advised to think again. And in any case not talk of German prisoners being "deported" to Germany, as TRD does, nor use preposterous arguments such as the one about these men being ostracised on their return as "collaborators with the British."

Whom on earth are TRD and the National Council wanting to help? If it is Germany (and therefore Europe) they should reflect on the fact that Germany lacks more than anything else men. German women could help him with that information. The prisoners are desperately needed in Germany on work which at the moment is often being done by their women folk, of whom there are about three to every man. If TRD would help these unfortunates he should hold his pen and keep it dry.

My criticism of our Government on the issue is that it ever appealed to the idle and selfish among the prisoners when the temptation to them was strong.

There are in Germany hundreds of socialists and democrats who came as refugees to Britain, having lost all they had and who have gone back to help in retrieving what was noble in German life and redeeming the soul of the nation. These men and women are in fact part of the soul of Germany and should have our blessing and encouragement in a heartbreaking task. And they are entitled to the support of every other German.

TRD would do well to seek out

Food for Europe

MOST of those who habitually send food parcels to Austrian or German families know of the continual need, in many cases now greater because of the "currency reform," and of the serious loss entailed by the recent prohibition of sending flour and cereals.

Some of us have protested strongly to the Minister of Food about it. I have just received a letter from Mr. Strachey in which he writes that he has "very carefully considered the matter." The only concession he will make is that "all home-made jam may be counted as rationed food" and sent. Otherwise, as we cannot risk "the consumption of flour and cereal products going up," he must "abide by the principle that only rationed food may be included in parcels, or there will be a drain on our stocks, which we could not check and could not afford."

I don't think this position is right, but it is understandable. And I can't help thinking that some of us, who feel so strongly about this matter in these days of the comparative abundance of flour, could devise some plan and safeguard, which would enable the M. of F. without risk of abuse, to allow us to send a reasonable quantity of flour and cereals on the same conditions, as when they were on points and BUs.

Will friends please think this out and if they can find a likely solution send it either direct to the Ministry of Food, Montagu House, Whitehall, S.W.1., or to Save Europe Now, 15, James Street, W.C.2., who have been pressing the urgency of the need on the Minister.

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE.

20, St. Catherine's,
Broxbourne, Herts.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

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P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

NEW READERS END HERE

SOME of you may be reading Peace News for the first time this week. If you think it is making a useful contribution to current thought, by presenting news and views which are not to be found in the commercial papers, will you please remember that a paper of this sort depends entirely on its regular readers, not only for advertisement, but for its very existence?

Peace News has no powerful financial backing. We want to make it more widely known, but we can do so only with your help. There are many ways in which you can help: by taking out a subscription yourself—a trial sub. for 3 months costs only 3s.; by passing on your copy to a friend; not least by getting your local newsagents to display it every week. You will have to promise to pay him for any copies unsold: but thanks to the generosity of one supporter, we can offer to reimburse you for that.

Finally there is the Peace News Fund. By contributing to the Fund, you can help us to improve the contents of the paper and undertake publicity work ourselves. Peace News depends on the Fund: and even the smallest contribution will be much appreciated.

THE EDITOR

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disease and paralysis. Children and the old and infirm will have to live underground, and the sunshine which is their birthright must become their enemy. Evil begets evil, and the aftermath of war is crime and degradation. Famine and all the misery accompanying it will be rampant, no bird's song, no children's laughter, no green grass, all beauty gone for ever. Slowly all culture will die and Humanity will go out into the darkness and slime from whence it sprang, and the clock will have gone the full circle. Thus grim and bitter is the future if this madness is not stopped, and I for one say stop it at any price, even at the cost of England herself, for the sanctity of human life transcends any love of country.

I am fully aware that self preservation and fear of death are natural instincts, and also that geographically England stands a poor chance of survival if war breaks out between USA and USSR, but I say rather than sanction such a terrifying and wholly devastating weapon as the atomic bomb let England go out in a blaze of glory, carrying high her torch of courage, rather than in a cloud of fire which leaves only dead ashes of a false God.

DORIS WATSON

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Switzerland: The Pattern Of Democracy

By
MAURICE CRANSTON



"... trams linked together like trains."

BERNE, the capital of Switzerland, is a horse-shoe shaped city with the Houses of Parliament perched like a captain's bridge over the blue clean river, while the peaks of the Oberland, jagged and snow-topped, cut the southern sky. It is a mediaeval city with gay fountains and long arcades, but all new-painted in pastel green, with smart shops, brisk traffic and well-dressed people.

The atmosphere is distinctly formal, and if it is hard to believe this is the heart of a stricken, shabby post-war Europe, there is no forgetting it is a capital. The streets have names that end in *-gasse* or *-weg* (so much more old and quaint than *avenue*); yet they carry trams linked together like trains, and the banks and ministries are as big as any in Westminster.

As I write these lines, a noise of singing comes up from the street outside my hotel. The pubs—or rather the Bernese beer-cellars which are rather more comfortable places than English pubs—are closing for the night. At nine o'clock sharp the restaurants put up their shutters. The beer-cellars close an hour or two later. After their customers have dispersed, Bern will probably be the quietest capital in Europe. At the same time, perhaps, the brightest—for the electric lights which are dim in Paris and London and Vienna are here quite dazzling.

In my hotel, which is large and warm and has that odd German smell of shut windows and floor polish, and a spiced meal on the hob in a distant kitchen, I seem only to meet receptionists and commercial travellers from Zurich. These last gentlemen keep telling me what a dull and stuffy town Bern is, and why don't I hurry off to Zurich and enjoy myself?

My morning newspaper, which is tedious and conservative despite its serial being *Helvetia* Tag von J. B. Priestley, carries advertisements for gift parcels of food and fruit sent to Germany and Austria (Soviet zone excluded). Here in Bern, however, there is no bustle for things to eat. The restaurateurs sit meditatively and unmolested behind their stalls of oranges and lemons and peanuts, while in the shops the assistants have time to open and shut the doors with many a "merci vielmals," a "bitteschon, Monsieur" and other such pleasantly assorted

German and French civilities. Even at noon, when the shops close and the Bernese business people go to the temperance restaurants for a three-franc lunch, there is no unseemly haste, and there seems actually to be time to use a toothpick.

SWITZERLAND is a federal republic, like the United States of America. Apart from being federal, it is, however, quite unlike the USA or any other country in the world. The most remarkable feature about Switzerland is not that there are twenty-two cantons united in one republic, but that there are three distinct nationalities, each with its own language, united in one nation. German, French and Italian are the officially recognised languages; documents such as treasury notes and ration cards are printed in all three. In the summer of 1937 Romansh (spoken by only one per cent of the population) was acknowledged by the government to be a national language, but not to the extent of having it used on postage stamps and five-franc bills.

Religious toleration is no less remarkable than the use of the country's four languages. Bloody wars were fought about religion on Swiss soil in one sad period. But today, the mutual respect is very great. Particularly interesting is the way in which Protestants and Catholics co-operate to produce one of the finest educational systems in the world.

One of the secrets of the successful co-operation of Switzerland's several cantons is that they keep a very large measure of government in their own hands. The federal government at Bern looks after foreign policy and war, the currency, the railways and the postal system. It also legislates on such matters as bankruptcy, patents, sanitation, and higher education, and controls public works.

In other matters, the cantons or demi-cantons of Switzerland are sovereign. Each has its local government, different in its organisation in most instances, but all built on vigorously democratic lines. In a few of the smallest cantons the people exercise their powers direct, without any parliamentary machinery. In such cases all male citizens of full age assemble in the open air on a given day—generally in early summer—and vote on the spot for new

administrators, new laws and changes in old laws. These assemblies are called *Landesgemeinden*, and exist in Appenzell, Glarus and Unterwald. I have a vivid picture in my mind of such a popular meeting at Glarus. A sort of stadium was erected in the central square of the town, and several thousand men took their places, like a vast football crowd, to legislate for their canton. Here, it seemed to me, was something that deserved the name democracy.

But even in Switzerland direct control by public assembly is impossible in most of the cantons. In these, like Bern and Zurich with six or seven hundred thousand people, or Vaud or St. Gallen, with three hundred thousand, there is a body chosen by universal suffrage, usually called *der Grosse Rat*, or *Kantons Rat*, which exercises all the functions of the *Landesgemeinden*. But in all these larger cantons, the referendum is an important constitutional feature.

The members of cantonal councils, as well as most of the magistrates, are either honorary servants of their fellow citizens or receive a merely nominal salary. Cantons can commission junior officers in the army, but the senior officers must be appointed by the confederation.

The Swiss have a great affection for their cantons. Their loyalty is no less marked in the relatively newly established cantons than in those which are 700 years old. In the *Kanton Bern*, for instance, the cantonal emblem, a bear, is as widely exhibited as the national flag. The most popular cakes and biscuits made there have a bear designed in sugar

icing, and dozens of appealing little teddy-bears sit in the windows of the shops.

Since Switzerland is a federation of free cantons, there is obviously a very proper place for cantonal patriotism. A hundred years ago the canton was more important as a political unit than the State itself.

In recent years there has been a tendency for the powers of the federal authority to increase at the expense of the cantons. One example is that of the legal system. The cantons used to have their own criminal codes. But on July 3, 1938, a referendum in favour of a single national criminal law was passed by a small majority—352,000 votes against 310,000.

Other moves in the direction of centralised authority followed. The second world war made it necessary for the federal authorities to assume emergency powers—both for defence and for economic organisation. Since the war ended there has been no sign of the federal government relinquishing these powers. Students of political history will not be surprised at this: a State, it seems, can do almost anything but "wither away."

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

AT the War Resisters' International Conference at Shrewsbury last August, Robert Butler presented a report on Yugoslavia, a country he had visited some months earlier and knew well. His important contribution towards an understanding of that country is now being published, slightly abbreviated, in the form of four articles. Hubert Butler has spent some time in the Soviet Union, being at one time an English teacher in a Leningrad school. His home is in Eire.

Report on Yugoslavia I.

THE Yugoslavs are, like my own nation the Irish, among the least pacifist people in Europe and at the best of times it would not be easy to persuade them that liberty could be won or maintained except by fighting.

I was not surprised to find in Yugoslavia that the small group of people, which had been associated with the WRI and other international movements of the kind had more or less dissolved. They had not actually been suppressed, but had been voted away as superfluous by extremists within the groups themselves. These had urged their incorporation (to "prevent over-lapping" is the usual excuse for this kind of cannibalism) in the officially sponsored societies, the various Anti-Fascist leagues, cultural, economic, male and female. I did not find that they had been actually persecuted so much as rendered powerless.

I talked to several men and women, who had before the war been active, internationally-minded people, who visited conferences all over Europe and America, who were used to lecturing and writing. I think I seemed to them as would anybody else from our island, a figure from the past, stirring very sad memories that had scarcely any bearing on the life they were leading. The business of living from one day to the next, was absorbing all their energies. They had often lost their jobs or their incomes and had no surplus leisure for thinking of abstract problems or international movements. All their efforts were bent on securing some sort of future for their children or

elderly relatives. "We are tired of living," one of them told me very sadly.

Most of these people were liberals by temperament, Left-wing rather than Right, so that their extinction by the Communists is a cruel tragedy. But none of those to whom I talked had gone back on their principles or come to believe in reactionary politics; they still valued individual liberty, the freedom to think and act in the light of reason. Simply they had been robbed of all power to advance their views. I think that an external pacifist organisation can make very few demands on these people. Even by communication with us they come under suspicion of giving information to foreigners.

Pacifism is considered a very great crime in Yugoslavia today. You have, I am sure, heard of the trial of the Jehovah's Witnesses which took place recently in Zagreb. The principal defendants were sentenced to death, the others to long terms of imprisonment. These sentences were, I am glad to say, in some cases revised, but there is no doubt that the Witnesses had exasperated the Yugoslav government both by their pacifism and by their contact with their fellow believers in other countries. To quote the official report:

"They engaged in oral and written propaganda against the People's Republic and harmed the military power and defensive capacity of the country by persuading citizens to shirk conscription. They collected false information on the political and general situation, which they sent abroad, thus presenting a false picture of the state of affairs in Yugoslavia."

The Public Prosecutor declared that reports of persecutions were sent abroad "at the time when Stepinac was discussing Intervention." In this way the Jehovah's Witnesses were linked up with the Roman Catholic

Church as collaborators in an attempt to defame the Yugoslav government.

Anyone, who is aware of the relations of the Catholic Church and Jehovah's Witnesses will be amused as well as bewildered by this suggestion.

The Jehovah's Witnesses defended themselves with great courage and made no attempt to disguise their views. In the words of the official report of the trial:

"They called themselves the faithful servants of Christ, to whom earthly life was of no concern. They said that they would not take up arms in case their country was threatened. At the time of the most intensive work for the rehabilitation of their country, they preached utter passivity. Their pacifism benefits international reactionaries whose agents they are."

The Yugoslav Witnesses were principally simple people, shoe-makers,

sanitary inspectors, mechanics and they had a simple and fervent creed, based on a literal acceptance of the Bible (There is no doubt that it was their simple faith with its rigid rules and curious dogma about the future that has enabled them to keep alive Christian pacifism in Eastern Europe). Not many of us share or could ever share the views of the Witnesses and we have to ask ourselves how without their convictions we could imitate their courage. Like them, we reject all the sophistries by which war is justified by leaders in political and religious life. I think we can do something by the fearless and incessant exposure of these sophistries. Stripped of them Christianity might recover some of its lost vigour and universality.

PRISONER OF WAR ASSISTANCE SOCIETY

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POWAS is in urgent need of donations for postage of parcels, etc., saleable articles and gifts of used clothing or rationed foods so that we may continue our service to individual families suffering through the long detention of their breadwinners, and now hit by shortages and currency reform.

Our General Secretary is at present travelling through Germany, at her own expense, investigating conditions and particular cases. With this closer knowledge of individual needs and problems we shall help more effectively and make maximum use of funds entrusted to us. Names of those who help us may, if desired, be placed on the individual parcels sent out so that they can be personally acknowledged by the recipient and a friendship formed.

Orders can now be taken for Christmas cards with German Greetings.

Information about POWAS can be obtained from
The Secretary, POWAS,
"Holies" Furze Field Road,
East Grinstead, Sussex.

BROTHER'S VERDICT

Goliath and Labour Leaders: The Instance of "Willie" Graham. Hutchinson, 11s.

TOO many biographies lately have been written by relatives of the person portrayed. Relatives may know their subject in detail; but more than that is wanted. Biography is an art, and either the book is not needed or there is a story to be told, and a true story-teller required. In "Willie Graham" the life of the Rt. Hon. W. Graham is presented by his brother, Thomas N. Graham. Almost he justifies the brother's hand. William and Thomas evidently were close boyhood friends, and the picture of their early life near Peebles and in Edinburgh is charming.

But despite Mr. Graham's skill as a journalist the later story becomes a chronicle. At least, as he rises to editor, city councillor, Member of Parliament, member of a Labour government and Cabinet Minister, the figure of Willie, the Labour leader, does not gather significance. We do not feel moved by any spectacle of a man challenging the whirlpool of these years, and succeeding or failing to reach shore.

In Willie Graham there was promise of mind and soul. His success in conducting a local newspaper at 19 was enough to suggest a career. In 1906 he abandoned the prospect for socialism and the idealism of the I.L.P. He often discussed with his brother the possibility of a European war and lamented the existence of the War Office, in which he had worked as a boy-clerk.

Mr. Graham, an ex-serviceman and a Conservative, says of Willie, "He never could find any case to be made out in justification of war. Willie was a pacifist in the sense that he regarded the resort to arms as a futile means of settling international difficulties." His condemnation was not simply intellectual. With a brother in the army, soon to be badly wounded, and a still younger brother in the navy, "Willie... hating war so much, and, above all, the destruction of God's handiwork, felt its impact more than he could say when it touched those who were nearest and dearest to him."

But Willie, not called upon to carry weapons, seems to have had no other arms against Goliath. He does not appear to have seen clearly that the giant to be overthrown was not Germany but war itself. In 1919, that first terrible great conflict over, he settled down to all the detailed work of a conscientious, fair-minded socialist in Parliament. So he continued until his too early death in 1932. Yet all the time the new barbarism revealed in the war and the Versailles peace, and in the violence of the revolutions during and after the war, ominously was moving to its present over-shadowing might.

I write in sympathy with Willie for too many of us were as busy with too many little things. Yet William Graham, who was content to know nothing of the European continent at first-hand until mid-life, was an outstanding Labour leader, even a likely future Prime Minister. It is not enough to hate war. Leaders will be they who study active peace, that is, the life that peace stands for, until peace can outlive war. New arms there must be against the old Goliath, and only they will be fit to govern who can so set the spirit above slings, stones and bombs alike.

PERCY REDFERN

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A GREAT PROPAGANDIST

The Selected Works of Thomas Paine, edited by Howard Fast. Bodley Head, 10s. 6d.

THE last couple of years have seen a quite considerable output of Paine literature; a biography, a historical novel, and two volumes of selections have, within a comparatively short period, brought his work back prominently into our view.

The attention is by no means unmerited. Paine was an important figure in all the revolutionary movements—American, English and French—of the late eighteenth century. He was undoubtedly the most significant propagandist of his age, and, next to Swift and Winstanley, the best of English pamphleteers. His vivid and straightforward prose has a fine literary quality, even apart from the validity or otherwise of his arguments.

Moreover, Paine remains one of the few authentic instances of the uncorrupted politician. Involved closely in the political life of three countries at a time when very few public men retained their integrity without some dubious stain, Paine maintained throughout a singularly steadfast concern for freedom and a fearless hatred of corruption wherever he encountered it. Thus, he risked his neck, not only to defy the reaction in England, but also to denounce the Jacobin terror in France.

Yet, when we divide Paine's personal qualities from his political theories, the inadequacy of the latter becomes evident. Unlike his contemporary, Godwin, Paine was not an uncompromising enemy of government. He regarded it as a necessary evil, and thus became an advocate of revolutionary violence and revolutionary power, without realising that in practice the revolution entrenched in authority becomes henceforward a reaction that defends itself against further revolution. The Jacobin terror was the logical outcome of Paine's own theories; a too-close involvement in the expediency of political action that prevented him from seeing, with the same clear vision as Godwin, into the fallacies of orthodox revolutionism.

Nevertheless, in Paine's action and his work alike a personality of rare nobility and courage is evident, and the present selection, containing not only *The Rights of Man* and *The Age of Reason*, but also such less readily available documents as *Common Sense* and *Crisis Papers*, is adequate and representative. Mr. Fast's commentary is not very penetrating, sharing Paine's limitations of outlook without his magnificent style, but it has at least the virtue of brevity.

GEORGE WOODCOCK

The Theory of State

The State and the Citizen, by J. D. Mabbott. Hutchinson, 7s. 6d.

THIS is a book about political philosophy for the general reader. The author is an Oxford don, though I suspect that war-time experience of national service has done as much as academic training to shape the opinions he advances. Most of the chapters are concerned with the nature of the State, and there is a brisk preliminary summary of political theories under the heading, "From Hobbes to Hegel." In a short appendix the author delivers himself of the curious pronouncement that "Communism is not a philosophy," which at least explains why the summary stops short at Hegel and does not even extend to Marx.

The interest of this book is more speculative than informative. Regarded as an introduction to a branch of philosophy, it suffers from want of proportion: Plato, Spinoza, Bentham and Godwin are scarcely mentioned, while the flyblown school of Oxford Idealism—"From Green to Bosquet" Mr. Mabbott might have called it—is given most conscientious consideration.

The strength of Mr. Mabbott's approach derives from the ruthless application of logical analysis to words and notions like "democracy" and "community" and "liberty" which are without precise descriptive meaning in ordinary usage. He ends by confessing his doubt as to whether "democracy" can serve us any longer. This conclusion, identical with Mr. Murry's, is, I believe, entirely justified, though I am afraid that any alternative expression such as "free society" would soon become equally empty.

The general reader is likely to be disappointed with Mr. Mabbott's book in so far as the author has few constructive suggestions to match his critical and analytical achievements. Yet it may be that this very disappointment may serve as the best introduction to philosophy, since philosophy is, after all, the study of questions to which there are no answers, a study which can stimulate but never satisfy a mind which searches for the truth.

MAURICE CRANSTON

COLLECTIVE SECURITY REPUDIATED

Peace or Anarchy, by Cord Meyer, Jr. Atlantic Monthly Press, Boston, \$2.50

THE author made a name for himself as a young man when his letters home from the Pacific war were published in *The Atlantic Monthly*. Chosen by Harold Stassen as one of the two veteran observers at the San Francisco Conference, he "watched with growing concern how the victory was squandered at the conference table. . . . An organisation was created that was even weaker than the old League."

So thoroughly are the defects of the UN Charter analysed that it is made to look like a palace founded upon shifting sands, and it is with a shock that one finds in Chapter VIII: "The UN as it stands is admittedly incapable of preserving peace but its institutions contain constructive possibilities. The changes necessary . . . can be accomplished by amendment of the Charter." It soon became clear, however, that this line of approach is part of Mr Meyer's strategy, the reconstruction which he prescribes is so radical that the new Charter would have nothing left of the original text except the words, "We, the people."

"In defining the structure of security," he says, "two principles are indispensable. The first is the concept of enforceable law that binds individuals. The impractical and unjust notion of collective security must be repudiated since the only method of enforcement it provides is the waging of war against entire nations. It is essential that security rest on a legal structure of effective prevention and individual penalisation rather than on collective measures that are merely another name for war. Secondly, national governments will never submit themselves and their citizens to the rule of law unless it is limited by the concept of federalism."

Even those who violently disagree with it will enjoy this book.

HAROLD S. BIDMEAD

The Pulpit and the Pen

The Door of the Cave, by Joseph McCulloch. Michael Joseph, 12s. 6d.

JOSEPH McCULLOCH is an Anglican priest who takes his vocation seriously and is not afraid of stepping beyond the limits of what is usual in the Christian education of himself and his congregation.

In *Medway Adventure* he gave an account of the coming together of a group of people at his parsonage "for the discussion of serious topics of common interest." The present book has grown out of this group's dissatisfaction with the report of the Church of England's Commission on Evangelism entitled *Towards the Conversion of England*, and their consequent decision to find a way towards the deepening of their understanding of the Christian faith through the dramatic reinterpretation of the Passion and the Resurrection of Christ. Accordingly, they cast themselves in the appropriate parts, and staged a Mime with music and recitation of the events of Good Friday, Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday, each scene being debated at length before general agreement on its presentation was reached.

The Door of the Cave purports to be an attempt to formulate their general findings; for "the whole adventure had crystallized for us the philosophy we had been seeking together for years . . . The truth which is in Christ had come alive for us in the middle of an industrial neighbourhood in the twentieth century."

As a piece of "popular apologetics" this book ranks high. One would far rather see this in the hands of the nominal Churchgoer than the works of Mr. Nichols, Miss Sayers, or Mr. C. S. Lewis. Nevertheless, it once more raises the question of the admissibility of this class of literature at all. Is it not a debased genre? What Mr. McCulloch says, for instance (and I do not deny that he says many good and true things) could be said more concisely and compellingly if, instead of loosely attaching his observations to the exterior framework provided by the Mime, he had either deliberately dramatised or novelised his material, or else thrown the Mime overboard and concentrated on working out his own ideas, from a given starting-point, in a way through which the reader could share in the process of their development. In other words, to write a good book Mr. McCulloch must accept one or other of the literary disciplines which lead to order both in writer and reader, and enable the critic to exercise his function without irrelevance. It is the lack of such discipline which makes of this book, popular though it may be for a time, a perishable commodity. And yet, possibly Mr. McCulloch has it in him to write imperishably.

D. S. SAVAGE

Note to Book-Buyers

"Every book that springs from a true creative impulse, which enlarges the imagination, clarifies the mind, or enriches our humanity, serves implicitly the cause of pacifism," writes Mr. Hugh P. Anson Fausset in the *PPU Journal*. Housman's bookshop, in Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2., exists to purvey such books, as well as to display explicitly pacifist literature.

The *PPU Bookshop* is struggling with the difficulties that face all booksellers at the present moment. You can help to keep it alive, and so help the pacifist cause, by ordering your books from Housman's; and I can assure you that the service is excellent.

EDITOR.



BOURNVILLE COCOA

made by CADBURY

WHAT IS PACIFISM?

IN starting out to write a few thoughts on "What is Pacifism," I did what most amateurs do on these occasions—looked up one or two dictionaries to find the exact meaning of the word there. But the word "pacifist" and the word "pacifism" I could not find; the nearest approach was "pacific," meaning peace-making, suited to restore peace, mild, tranquil. If I had been looking for "war," "battle," "wounds," "famine," and all the thousand and one things connected with this state of affairs, I would have had quite a mine of information to draw on. It is apparent that pacifism is a modern word—quite modern.

I might have got some definitions from the modern press on this modern word—as far as one can gather, pacifists are rogues and vagabonds whose proper place is prison, as every day one reads of pacifists being condemned in France to four years' imprisonment, and in America to twenty years, and so on. Pacifism, then, is a dangerous thing, and it is to be avoided when its advocates meet with such strange fates. Yet we are not avoiding this thing. War now has had its day, whereas the day of pacifism is coming.

Peace! Peace!

What is the whole world waiting for? Peace! Peace! What are we fighting for? A lasting Peace! And at the very end, when the fighting has stopped, how will things be arranged? By arbitration, the dream of pacifism—arbitration instead of war. They will come to it, they must come to it, just our despised way—discussion—reasoning. The final settlement will have to be talked over. Nothing will be gained in those last days by delegates throwing books at one another or making barricades of tables—they must give in at last and use no more physical force.

The poet Shelley was a pacifist—no doubt that accounts for all the horrid things people used to say about him. Once I believed them, but now I know he advocated pacifism I doubt a good many of the statements made about this young man. In his poem "The Masque of Anarchy," written on

In 1917 in Australia a pacifist put down on paper her thoughts on pacifism, a word that was missing in many dictionaries at that time. Europe was then witnessing the titanic and bloody battles of the Western Front; in Britain the ill-treatment of conscientious objectors was at its height, hatred and intolerance were sowing the seeds of a later war.

The manuscript recently came to light in the offices of the Women's International League (Australian Section) in Victoria, New South Wales. The writer, Mrs. M. L. Drummond is today still an active member of the League.

hearing of the bloodshed at Manchester in 1819, when the people met to tell of their grievances and were shot down in numbers, he advocated non-resistance. He tells the people to assemble, but not to resist force by force.

"Stand ye calm and resolute,
Like a forest close and mute;
With folded arms, and looks which are
Weapons of unvanquished war."

But here, people are struggling for something, though not using physical force. There is one thing that pacifism does not mean, and that is going to sleep, taking it easy, allowing militarism to have all its own way. What is this militarism that it should rule the earth? Who gave it its power? Why should pacifists be expected to sing small and apologise for their faith? We must rid ourselves of these old ideas that militarism is a glorious and a grand thing, and pacifism its inferior. Courage, self-sacrifice, true greatness and a victory over our lower passions—these are some of the virtues that can be exercised by putting into practice the teachings of pacifism.

Angry pacifists

Of course, there are many pacifists who are not able to rise to these heights, and people point a finger of scorn when, at a peace meeting, angry or bitter things are said. But are we to wait till we are perfect before we join together to try to bring about great reforms? It would indeed be a sad day if only angelic persons could constitute a forward movement.

Pacifism is a word to conjure with. It produces strange phenomena. The word "pacifism" when spoken to a militarist is a red rag to a bull. It causes strong men to turn pale and strong women to turn purple. Pacifism is a word which loses us our friends and makes us many enemies. One day some people were talking about a woman who rather bored them, when I said, "I told her I was an advocate of pacifism and she has never spoken to me since." There were wild shrieks as one exclaimed, "That is the only useful purpose I have ever heard pacifism serve!"

But this is a really big thing. It means such a revolution, such a triumph of the spirit over the flesh, such a fight against the customs of ages, such a demand upon our reasoning faculties, such forgiveness of our enemies, such calm judgment and recognition of our own imperfections, that we cannot expect it to come in a day. The great hope now is that the

Pacifist Profiles

X

BORN in the present century in Enfield, Grace Beaton was educated at the County School and took her first job at the Society of Friends. After a few years she was compelled to relinquish her position with the Quakers owing to an attack of rheumatic fever. Following a long illness she grew weary of having little to do, bought a typewriter and began to help a few friends.

This was in 1925, just after the first International Conference of the War Resisters' International. Runham Brown's typist, who formed the complete staff of the International in those days, was shortly to leave with her husband to settle in America, and it was then that the tapping of Grace Beaton's bedside typewriter was heard and she was invited to come and assist Runham Brown. From that date onwards she has never had any spare time.

Her first piece of work for the International was the preparation of an International Anti-Conscription Manifesto in 1926. It was a huge task carried out most brilliantly. A remarkable number of prominent figures throughout the world signed that Manifesto and it brought great publicity to the International itself.

Shortly afterwards, Grace Beaton moved just over the frontier from the County of Middlesex to the County of London, quite close to 11, Abbey Road. The two houses were



GRACE M. BEATON

linked up to form joint offices for the International.

In 1932 Grace made her Maiden Speech at the Annual Meeting of the British Section, and in 1933 ceased to be sole typist and was made General Secretary of the Movement, a post which she has held ever since, in spite of her frail constitution, with conspicuous ability and devotion. So perfectly has everything been organised that, when on the day of the International Conference in 1934 she was carried into hospital, it was still possible to go through with the Conference without a hitch. After an operation and considerable suffering, Grace Beaton got back to work again.

She has travelled considerably in Europe. Her most remarkable journeys were those made first to Berlin and then to Vienna just after the Nazis had over-run Austria. Runham Brown was known to be on Hitler's black-list and it was therefore considered dangerous for him to visit any of our people there. Grace volunteered to go and there visited one of our helpers in the offices of the Gestapo. Her visit and her subsequent work made it possible for large numbers of our friends to be got out of concentration camps and brought to England, and afterwards settled in various countries of the world.

The story of Grace Beaton's activities in recent years is the record of the work of the War Resisters' International.

IN JAMAICA TOO

AS a result of the inability of U.S. military authorities to retain bases in Panama, considerably augmented defence forces and installations are scheduled for Trinidad and Jamaica. It is anticipated that the number of men stationed at Vernam Field in Jamaica may be trebled, temporary buildings replaced by more adequate permanent structures, and a four-lane highway built from the base to the city of Kingston.—WP.

people are starting to think about this thing. All the efforts in the past have been made by Czars and Dukes and diplomats, and such grand persons—it is only in the last hundred years that the people have formed peace societies and kindred organisations which point to something better than war. A soldier met me and I was giving him my views of war, and he said, "You seem to have plenty of fight left in you." "Yes," I said, "I haven't been a pacifist for the last three years for nothing!"

MABEL L. DRUMMOND.

SEPTEMBER'S SCORE: 31

Thirty-one new signatories were received by the Peace Pledge Union during the month of September.

Words of Peace - No. 248 COMPASSION!

There are two kinds of pity, one, the weak and sentimental kind, which is really no more than the heart's impatience to be rid as quickly as possible of the painful emotion aroused by the sight of another's unhappiness, that pity which is not compassion, but only an instinctive desire to fortify one's own soul against the sufferings of another; and the other, the only kind that counts, the unsentimental but creative kind, which knows what it is about and is determined to hold out in patience and forbearance to the very limit of its strength and even beyond.

Stephan Zweig.

CONSCRIPTION - WE SAY NO!
A QUAKER APPEAL FOR THE ABOLITION OF MILITARY CONSCRIPTION
A PUBLIC MEETING
will be held at
Friends House, Euston Rd, N.W.1
on
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4th,
at 7.30 p.m.
SPEAKERS:
W. MAUDE BRAYSHAW
(Clerk of London Yearly Meeting)
WALTER W. AYLES
(M.P. for Southall)
KATHLEEN LONSDALE, F.R.S.
A YOUNG CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

Organised by the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY
LATEST TIME for copy: Monday
before publication.
TERMS: Cash with order, 8d. per line, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. per line). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 60 words. Address Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.
When corresponding with PN about advertisement, quote its first number, classification, and date. We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements. Owing to the increasing pressure on our advertising space we must that all copy for displayed insertion should reach us not later than the Thursday morning eight days prior to publication. Our displayed advertisement rates are at the low rate of 10s. per column inch and we shall welcome enquiries from readers wishing to make use of this service.

MEETINGS
GOs ANNUAL re-union Saturday,
16. Friends Meeting House,
16, Brookway, "Is Liberty

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

REGENT SQUARE Presbyterian Church, W.C.1. Sunday, Oct. 10, 3.30 p.m. "Christianity and Communism." Preacher Rev. Patrick Figgis.

DEWSBURY PPU Meeting. Kenneth Trueman on "The Urgency of the Pacifist Task." Wed. Oct. 13 at 7 p.m. at 10, Leeds Road.

WAKEFIELD PPU Meeting. Kenneth Trueman on "The Urgency of the Pacifist Task." Tuesday, Oct. 12, 7 p.m. at Friends Meeting House, Thornhill Street.

DR. A. D. BELDEN BD., DD., gives pulpit review of Leyton Richards' "Christian Pacifism in Two World Wars" on Tuesday, Oct. 12, at 7.45 p.m., at Weigh House Church, Binney St., Oxford Street, W.1.

CROYDON GROUP Peace Week Peace News selling, literature distribution next week outside East and West Croydon Stations, etc. Volunteers welcomed, call 9, Mulgrave Road, (off Park Lane) or phone GRO 5961 for supplies.

ACCOMMODATION
DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Room Vegetarian Guest House for sunny holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. 3, Ludlow, The Briers, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate. Tel.: Ambergate 44).

EDUCATIONAL
SPEAKING & WRITING lessons. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

FOR SALE & WANTED
COMPLETE HOME—or for week-ends, fully equipped, absolutely new, 1948 trailer caravan, double walled, two compartments, four finest interior sprung berths. Gas cooking, lighting. Offered considerably below cost £385, delivery arranged. Box 958.

HOUSE FOR sale. Very well built, semi-detached, freehold. Quiet district near tube (Snaresbrook). Immediate possession attractive 4-roomed upper flat. £2,000. Box 959.

REBILIX MUST buy typewriters. We arrange advertisements and pay good commissions to any contacts in provinces who will forward replies. Full details from Rebilix Typewriter Co. Ltd., 581 London Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

LITERATURE, &c.
QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee Friends' House, Euston Rd., London

PERSONAL
D. H. LAWRENCE Society (London) being formed November. Details write Box 960.
WILL SOMEONE or group take interest in family former German POW? Friends Meeting House, Worthing Rd., Horsham, Sussex.

MANY German pacifists and sympathisers would value English speaking pen friends in this and other countries. Interested readers are asked to send name, address and age to The Manager, Peace News, 3, Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED
EXPERT DUPLICATING Service. Enquiries invited. Mabel Eyles, 2 Aberdeen Park, Highbury, London, N.5. Tel. CANbury 3882.

MISCELLANEOUS
LONDON READERS able to give voluntary help to "Peace News" will be warmly welcomed at 3, Blackstock Rd. (above Fish & Cook, Stationers), Finsbury Park, N.4., Monday to Fridays 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.—up to 9.0 p.m. on Wednesdays.

YOUR MEETINGS are incomplete without a bookstall. Selections of current books, pamphlets and Peace News are available on sale or return from Housmans, 124 Shaftesbury Ave., W.1; PPU, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1; or Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

Can Atomic Energy Control ever be achieved?

Nothing else. Probably it has never occurred to the Field-Marshal that there are any other considerations. Yet how are his conscripts going to employ themselves in Germany, Austria, etc? There is no reference to bird-watching or butterfly-chasing in this, his latest pronouncement. Perhaps we may gain some idea from the report of the Free Church Federal Council, *With Our Boys in Germany* (Federal Council, 7d.). Last week The Friend quoted some instructive sentences from this document. The following will do to be going on with:

"Prophylactics are available to all, and it is estimated that 80 per cent. of the BAFO apply and are supplied with the same. . . It must not be assumed that all who obtain them use them. We heard of one instance where the NCO responsible, when asked for a prophylactic by one man, handed the packets to all the men who happened to be in the room at the time. . . One doctor gave it as his opinion, after careful investigation, that promiscuous intercourse was indulged in by anything from 50 to 80 per cent. of the Forces."

"The report," observes The Friend, "contains no word about the crime of sending youths abroad into such conditions. The Churches pray 'Lead us not into temptation,' but on the plea of national and military necessity they consent to the thrusting of the new generation into the very midst of temptation." We commend its further comments to the notice, not only of Churchmen, but of the parents of Montgomery's

... and the Devil

DESPITE his inherited biographical flair, it must be some time since the Field-Marshal perused his grandfather's immortal work, *Eric, or Little by Little*. It is to be noted that he himself does not regard permanent military conscription as even a regrettable necessity. Quite the contrary! It is something positively good, if not indeed the Supreme Good. It ensures an "outflow of disciplined men into civil life . . . people who are used to obeying orders." *Heil Hitler!*

We owe Montgomery a vote of thanks for his candour. I would recommend the No Conscription Council to lose no time in reprinting his address as a leaflet. The mission of the military to stamp out the spirit of democracy and substitute one of unquestioning obedience, to corrupt and debauch the youth of Britain, to turn the British into a nation of dirty little yes-men goose-stepping to the blare of "Onward Christian Soldiers," was never more perfectly or more shamelessly exhibited.

Price of re-armament

THE Friend, as was fitting, pointed out the moral price to be paid for rearmament; other papers have not been slow to stress the economic. No-one, says Tribune, "would be fool enough to imagine that a rearmament programme can be conducted without injuring the nation's delicate economic prospects." The New Statesman is still more emphatic: "To rearm and recover simultaneously is a task plainly beyond Western Europe's power—at all events without American assistance on a scale far beyond anything so far contemplated under the Marshall Plan." Only The Economist dares to breathe the words "Lend-Lease," but it does not enquire how long America either could or would sustain Lend-Lease on top of ERP.

Europe, Great Britain included, is heading for an economic breakdown incommensurable with anything in the past. Whether that breakdown

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

comes through war or preparation for war, the result will be much the same. The moral resources of the democracies, already depleted by six years of carnage, and further sapped by military indoctrination, will be strained beyond breaking-point. The outcome will be world-wide dictatorship.

Racial dictatorship

IF the breakdown came sooner than war, the dictatorship would probably be Communist; if it came as the result of war, it might well merit the name of Nazi. For this much at least is certain: a war fought with Soviet Russia would be largely a racial war. Not only in South-East Asia, but throughout the African Colonies, sympathy with Russia is on the up-grade.

The Labour Government, in its short term of office, has shown itself surprisingly aware of the needs of the African native: an awareness encouragingly reflected in the Colonial Conference now in progress. But it has years of neglect to atone for, on the part of British Imperialists. Whoever has spoken to educated Negroes—and there are many in London these days—knows how deep and strong is the resentment accumulated wherever the colour bar has been in force.

The beneficent intentions of the Government will not be made any easier by the well-staffed Soviet legation recently established in Abyssinia. By far its most redoubtable enemy, however, is the Nationalist regime in South Africa. Under the heading "Nazifying South Africa," The New Statesman last week-end carried a truly horrifying indictment of current Malanist policy. Not content with outlawing native trade unions and debarring the native population from participation in Unemployment Insurance, the Nationalists are now taking steps towards the complete disenfranchisement of all coloured residents in the Union. Both this and the Hitlerian propaganda with which the policy is accompanied show how superficial is the veneer of democracy when the poison of race-hatred has been stirred up.

Castle in Spain

THE Chairman of the United States Senate Armed Forces Committee, with a party of American brasshats, has recently been visiting Spain. According to The Manchester Guardian (October 1), Senator Chan Gurney was mightily struck with what he saw. "I was tremendously impressed," he reported afterwards, "by General Franco's pride in the Spanish people and his faith in Spain's military power. . . Spain represents an oasis of true peace in a troubled Europe."

For the light it throws on what an American militarist understands by "true peace" that statement is worthy of note. Clearly a universal Fascist dictatorship would hold no terrors for him. It is still more interesting for the confirmation it offers of a theory long bruited abroad, that the American US High Command regards Spain, along with Britain, as the most reliable base in Europe for American long-range bombers.

Says Jon Kimche, in Reynolds News (October 3):—

"The U.S. Chiefs of Staff have come to the conclusion that Europe's main defence positions are to be the Spanish Peninsula and the British Isles. In case of war with Russia, the whole of Germany, the Benelux countries, and France would have to be abandoned to the invading Red Army during the first onrush."

He adds drily that this prospect makes little appeal to the French. "Belgium, Holland and, above all, France, dislike a plan which foresees their countries first occupied and then made into battlefields." Probably the same dislike was responsible for General de Gaulle's outburst last Friday: "Europe must be defended from Europe, not from London."

The fact is, of course, that Europe cannot be defended from Europe; it can only be defended from Washington: and to be defended from Wash-

GRATEFUL

The PPU Treasurer acknowledges receipt of £1 from "Grateful." Thank you.

ington means not to be defended at all. The battlefields, France and Benelux, will be no worse off than the bases, Britain and Spain.

That is, when Russia has the atom.

Early war?

FROM the standpoint of Western militarism, the case for an early war with Russia must be overwhelming. It is hard to avoid the impression that UNO was intended to witness a preliminary break between the blocks. But a series of hitches has arisen, in the shape of fresh proposals from Vyshinsky and Stalin.

The problem set by these proposals is certainly a thorny one. The Russians, if they want to play for time, can prolong negotiations for ever; the Western Powers cannot reject them without seeming to put themselves in the wrong.

The Berlin dispute is comparatively trivial. The point at issue is one of prestige: for the German *Magistrat* itself is less anxious to receive the support of the West than the West is eager to bestow it: has it not called for a Four Power withdrawal? The world at large would have little enthusiasm for a conflict over "rights" in Berlin.

But with the Control of Atomic Energy everybody is concerned. It was evidently upon this that the Western Powers had hoped to mobilise world opinion against the Soviet Isolationists. Mr. Vyshinsky, by his new initiative, has made that somewhat more difficult. On the surface, his proposal for two simultaneous conventions is reasonable and even attractive.

On the surface. But it is hard indeed to see how control can ever be established, so long as the Communist theoreticians cleave to their materialist dogma that "impartiality" is humanly impossible. Mr. Manuilsky's reply to M. Ramadier last Monday was a revelation. Surely, M. Ramadier had said, enough men of good will could be found to administer the world's atomic resources without discriminating against any one nation? He would rather have his hands cut off, retorted Mr. Manuilsky, than put his trust in men he had reason to suspect of being the agents of "powerful monopolies."

Agents of powerful monopolies: into that category fall, by definition, all who deviate from the Party Line. I am afraid that even we should be included if, as I have sometimes dreamed, it were proposed that control of atomic energy be vested in the War Resisters' International.

Budapest meeting honours Rosika Schwimmer

From a Budapest Correspondent

ON Sept. 23 the Hungarian Feminist Organisation held an overflow meeting in Budapest in memory of Rosika Schwimmer, one of the leading candidates for the 1948 Nobel Peace Prize, who died suddenly in New York on Aug. 3.

The occasion was unique in that women leaders from the various progressive and political Parties, including leading women of the Communist Party, despite their differing views, united in paying homage to her lifelong work for peace and political freedom.

Mrs. Irma Szirmay, 80-year-old chairman of the Board of Feministák Egyesülete, gave a moving account of Rosika Schwimmer's life-long international struggle for social and political reform and her heroic attempts to organise a neutral conference to offer mediation in the first World War.

Especially present for the memorial meeting were Franciska Schwimmer, Rosika Schwimmer's sister, companion in exile and co-worker, and Edith Wynner, her assistant, who had come to Hungary from Luxembourg where they attended the second international Congress of the World Movement for World Federal Government.

Miss Wynner described Rosika Schwimmer's pioneer effort in organising international support for the creation of world federal government, universal in membership, of democratic structure, and with its world laws enforceable on individuals who would continue to be citizens of their respective nations.

WAR-WE SAY NO

Next Week is PPU Peace Week

DURING next week, PPU Peace Week, thousands of new leaflets will be distributed throughout Britain calling on the people to give serious thought to the policy outlined by the Peace Pledge Union at their National Council Meeting on Sept. 26, and printed in Peace News last week.

In addition to the leaflet distribution, poster displays, public meetings and other activities will take place as listed below:

ABINGDON: Posters being displayed. Leaflet and pamphlet distribution.
BANGOR Co. Down: Posters being displayed.
BRADFORD: Public meeting 3.15, Sunday, Oct. 10, at the Broadway Car Park.
CENTRAL LONDON: Individual poster parades. Leaflet distribution to advertise the Kingsway Hall Meeting on Oct. 15, at 7.30 p.m.
CROYDON: Open-air meeting. Peace News selling and leaflet distribution.
COVENTRY: Posters being displayed.
EDMONTON: Open-air meeting on Wednesday, Oct. 13.
EDINBURGH: Open-air meeting.
GLASGOW: Public meeting to be addressed by Sybil Morrison on Oct. 11.
HOLMTHORPE: Posters being displayed.
HULL: Posters being displayed.
IPSWICH: Public meeting Oct. 12. Speaker, Duke of Bedford.
LEEDS: Public lunch hour meeting, outside Town Hall opposite the Police Station on Monday, Oct. 11.
LEYTONSTONE & WANSTEAD: Public meeting in Friends Meeting House, Wanstead.
LIVERPOOL: Posters being displayed.
LOUGHTON: Leaflet distribution.
LUTON: Posters being displayed. Public meeting Wednesday, Oct. 13, at Friends Meeting House. Speaker Tony Bishop, Editor, the Australian Peacemaker.
MILL HILL: Peace News selling.
NEWCASTLE: Posters being displayed; two open-air meetings: public meeting; Peace News street selling; leaflet distribution and Press publicity.
NOTTINGHAM: Open-air meeting.
OXFORD: Peace News selling.
PLYMOUTH: Thursday, Oct. 14, at Swarthmore Settlement. Speaker: Miss Kate Spurrell and Chas. R. W. Slatter.
SHEFFIELD: Public meeting.
SKIPTON: Peace News selling.
STOKE NEWINGTON: Open-air meeting and leaflet distribution.
SWINTON, Lanes: Posters being displayed.
WATFORD: Peace News selling and leaflet distribution.
WOODSMOOR, Cheshire: Peace News selling and leaflet distribution.
WYTHENSHAW, Cheshire: Peace News selling and leaflet distribution.

PAMPHLETS & POSTERS

The following are some of the pamphlets and leaflets available for distribution and obtainable from Dick Sheppard House or Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

They are particularly suitable for distribution at Army recruiting campaign meetings, which all readers are asked to cover, either individually or in groups.

War—We Say No.
A restatement of the PPU Minute calling on the Government to abandon war preparations and offering a constructive peace policy.
PPU. Your Questions Answered*
The PPU explained in Quiz form.
The PPU and the WRI*
The "Green" leaflet for distribution at Peace Rallies and other meetings.
This is your Choice.
A reprint of the front page article appearing in this week's Peace News.
A Speech the Press Ignored.
A reprint of Rhys Davies' speech in the Commons.
Atom ARP is Tragic Folly.
Kathleen Lonsdale's exposure of Atom ARP.
POSTERS.
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Hornsey Women's Peace Council

THE Friends' Meeting House, Muswell Hill, was crowded on Monday evening reports the Hornsey Journal, when the newly-formed Women of Hornsey Peace Group held a public meeting as part of their "Peace Crusade."

Outlining how the Peace Group was formed, Mrs. Pugh-Morgan (joint secretary) said that it started in August with six members. Today the Group was an energetic and rapidly growing team with a keen committee, and backed up by a band of canvassers and many hundreds of supporters.

A door-to-door canvass had been started and everywhere they had gone they had been met with co-operation and sympathy. The Peace Group hoped that women all over Britain would start petitions and that they would urge the Government they would not allow their sons and husbands to participate in a senseless and catastrophic war.

The principal speaker was a leading member of the Peace Pledge Union, Miss Sybil Morrison, who said that it was tragic to see that one group of politicians could still say they were perfect and the other crowd who were imperfect and the cause of all troubles. "It is time we women spoke up for ourselves," she said. "Words must be backed up by deeds. We must take no part in any future war."

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